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| | CONTENTS. | PAGE |
|--|---|---------|
| EDITORIALS | Tolstoy as a Peacemaker—Death of the Founder of the Red Cross—Aviation and War—The Danger of Alliances. | 253-257 |
| EDITORIAL NOTES | The Commission on Armaments—A Tragic Paradox—The Mode of Celebrating the Peace Centenary—University Courses in Peace—Opinions of European Military Circles—Navy Question in Canada—Dr. Scovel—Bartholdt Re-elected—Buffalo D. A. R. Peace Meeting—Pacific Coast Representative. | 257-260 |
| SPECIAL NOTICE | | 260 |
| WHAT THE PEACE SOCIETIES ARE DOING | | 260-261 |
| BREVITIES | | 261-262 |
| GENERAL ARTICLES: | | |
| The Christmas Peace. Poem. <i>Nellie Frances Milburn</i> | | 262 |
| The Field Secretary's Report for November. <i>Charles E. Beals</i> | | 262-263 |
| The Family of Nations. <i>George H. Blakeslee</i> | | 263-265 |
| Was I Wrong? <i>Frederic Passy</i> | | 265-266 |
| Disarmament in Germany. <i>Dr. A. Gobat</i> | | 266-267 |
| Japan and America. <i>M. Zumoto</i> | | 267-268 |
| Peace and Friendship with Japan. <i>Jacob H. Schiff</i> | | 268 |
| Battleships on the Pacific Coast. <i>Charles Faustus Whaley</i> | | 268-269 |
| Suggestions for the Celebration of the Hundred Years' Peace. | | 269-271 |
| The New York Peace Society—Notes. <i>William H. Short</i> | | 271-272 |
| Peace Day in the Churches | | 272 |
| NEW BOOKS | | 272-273 |
| International Arbitration and Peace Lecture Bureau | | 273 |

Tolstoy as a Peacemaker.

Tolstoy's death has called attention anew to the great Russian teacher's peace principles, which he had been for nearly half a century busy expounding and impressing, but which only a few men in different countries had come to accept.

These radical peace views were not original with him, and can only be called Tolstoyan on the ground that he was in recent years the most prominent exponent and exemplar of them. They were the same, substantially, as those held by George Fox and William Penn in the seventeenth century; by the Mennonites and Moravians still earlier; and more recently by Jonathan Dymond, Noah Worcester, William Ladd, John G. Whittier, William Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou, Judge William Jay, Henry Richard and other prominent peace advocates of the nineteenth century.

What differentiated Tolstoy from these other "non-resistants" was the fact that he depended, for the advancement of the cause of peace in the world, entirely upon the proclamation of the iniquity of war

and refusal to do military service. He was in the habit of declaring that if all men would only accept these principles, and refuse to do military service of any kind, war would at once be abolished; and he wrote as if he had never conceived it possible for war to disappear in any other way.

Tolstoy had no use for peace societies or peace congresses, for Hague conferences or arbitration conventions. He thought that the ordinary work and methods of all these were compromises with the absurd and iniquitous system of armaments and war. Sometimes he went so far as to ridicule them as not only ineffective, but positively injurious to the cause which they were trying to serve.

Such was not the case with the great "non-resistant" peace advocates of the last century, mentioned above. With the possible exception of Garrison, who came nearer to Tolstoy in this respect than any of the others (though he joined a peace society founded on non-resistant principles), these men were either organizers of peace societies or prominent workers therein. They realized, as Tolstoy seems not to have done, that great principles are never incorporated wholesale into social and political institutions, but only gradually, and little by little. In order to bring about this gradual development of a peace organization of the world, they were willing and anxious to coöperate with other friends of peace who were not prepared to go the length of condemning war from every point of view, but who believed it to be a great scourge and desired to aid in abolishing it.

If the policy of Tolstoy had been followed in this respect by all the friends of peace we should probably have had no organized peace movement at all, and certainly none of the great results which have been brought about by the coöperation of men of different shades of view as to the ultimate character of war. We should have no Hague conferences, no International Court of Arbitration, no treaties of obligatory arbitration, and no such peaceful settlements of grave differences as that of the Newfoundland fisheries controversy recently at The Hague.

But in spite of Tolstoy's failure to grasp the fundamental law of social progress in its organized form, he was, nevertheless, one of the greatest if not the very greatest peace advocate of the past century. He went down to the very roots of the evil of war, and exposed it in all its moral hideousness, as many peace workers have failed and still fail to do. No other was listened to as he was. The words of no